

/144 cont./

000 have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

224 In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the
776 very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the
841 hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke
713 the wrath of the gělyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire
hunting party.

224 The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs,
[41] without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters
are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a
caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron.
Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a
spark from the flintlock.

223 There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gělyómp
224 angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this
does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting,
however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed
to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed
skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center
gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in
hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the
roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three,
five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the
house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once
532 did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's
796 height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human
figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the
head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by
circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle.
The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on
the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two
bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a
similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to
indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of
the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil,"
[224] /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is,
of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained
to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men.
The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a
poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones,
are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are
called yúkse or kése. The fish are said to die from them im-
mediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since
the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with
difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned
at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

● 411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only
important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in
in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from
the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the
chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other
mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles
with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances.
There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally
had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat)
is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether
himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/146 cont. /

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[777] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
● [411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
777 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
191 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[157] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in di-
ameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[324] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Never-
theless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving,
nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave
and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is
probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its
tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/172 cont. /

123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
[476] he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
● 411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

/314 cont. /

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[42] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/
of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not
familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not
fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain
fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees
with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize be-
tween the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we
find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.

[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place
as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February
dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year.

This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[23] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the
three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juan,
Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
● [41] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive
weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use
of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form
of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber
and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the
hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot
technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber
bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the
articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The
weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture.
The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the
weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

P /319 cont. /

105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C
P
105 Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with
P Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by
[197] H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces
[361] completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas
[241] the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha,
[412] with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of
[323] the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far
[325] above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon;
[411] among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the
[771] Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C
105 Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however,
P should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the
197 same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

Pittier]

NOTES ON PAEZ INDIANS

327

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kár*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijao; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Naciones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

PITTIER]

NOTES ON PAEZ INDIANS

353

pús

strong (in flavor)

192

lal

Phyllanthus sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye

[386]
[824]

latidm

iron

tek

sun — Cast.: *itaki*, *tehi*: *sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun

limb (T), des (H)

young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling

limbe

puma — Cast.: *ji*

listen

heap

listen + *ópia* (Cast.)

to be heaped — *op* = all

llal

a passion flower the fruits of which are edible

sond

Stylanthus guianensis, a plant

sá (T) }
sá-ud }

sister-in-law — Cast.: *no-són*

sus-tó

belly — Cast.: *to-ti*

lam-pu (H)

navel — Cast.: *lamé*

láb-pando (H)

broom

lu-háfi (H), tákfi (H)

hole

lull (H), tseel (T)

Ullucus tuberosus, a plant with edible tubers

la, lá

mountain — Cast.: *otlá*

la-dla

mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)

lám-bu (H), tábim (T)

occiput

láy

strap

lál

calabash used as a plate or cup

lís, lís-lal (H)

wall

lopát

blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-Ati*; Span.: [411]●
bodoquera

lápí-tápia

clean, free of obstruction

láfí (H)

upper-arm

/326 cont. /

262
[252] The chachafruto (usual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, frijol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbú) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224
● [44] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns
[799] and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags.

[262]
[252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored.
223 Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor"
[411] -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

- 286
[386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."
- [531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.
- 411
[824] Weapons.—For weapons, the *Pdez* used large, thick lances of black
[171] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*; and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Pdez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives.
- [177]
[172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.
- [223] Today the *Pdez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.
- 354
[372] Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel,
[177] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.
- 354
824
[388] Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Pdez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

- 438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas,
439 eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a
[435] price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit
[804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in
[273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

765 950

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. R. Bull. 148)

756
787
725
784

the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726

• [411]

The *Páez* and *Moguez* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628

[648]

[532]

[764]

The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of *Pijaos*," and the painted tombs, "houses of *Pijaos*." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

727

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

266

[175]

[648]

[764]

[114]

Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguez*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882-92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

727

[314]

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.